Family Composition and Remarriage in Pre-Transitional Italy: A Comparative Study

Breschi, Marco; Fornasin, Alessio; Manfredini, Matteo; Zacchigna, Marianna

Empfohlene Zitierung / Suggested Citation:
Breschi, M., Fornasin, A., Manfredini, M., & Zacchigna, M. (2008). Family Composition and Remarriage in Pre-Transitional Italy: A Comparative Study. *European Journal of Population / Revue européenne de Démographie*, *25*(3), 277-296. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10680-008-9172-8

Eur J Population (2009) 25:277–296
DOI 10.1007/s10680-008-9172-8

Family Composition and Remarriage in Pre-Transitional Italy: A Comparative Study

Marco Breschi · Alessio Fornasin · Matteo Manfredini · Marianna Zacchigna

Received: 19 October 2007 / Accepted: 1 October 2008 / Published online: 22 October 2008

Abstract It is well known that timing and intensity of remarriage were strictly dependent upon demographic, socio-economic, cultural and legislative factors specific to each community. Thus, the aim of this paper is to compare the extent to which such factors may affect the remarriage patterns of three pre-transitional Italian populations that were different in many respects. By using micro-level data of the sharecropping communities of Casalguidi and Madregolo and the Alpine village of Treppo Carnico, we highlighted similarities and differences in the respective remarriage patterns, in particular, the far lower intensity in the mountain community with respect to the sharecropping ones. Our findings show that along with differences in the demographic system, household structure and land tenure, normative elements concerning widows and the dotal system could in part explain the differentials we found.

Keywords Remarriage · Household Structure · Italy

Résumé Il est bien connu que le calendrier et l'intensité des remariages dépendent de façon stricte des facteurs démographiques, socio-économiques, culturels et législatifs spécifiques à chaque communauté. Dans cette perspective, l'objectif de cette étude est d'apprécier le rôle de ces facteurs dans les modalités de remariage de trois populations très différentes de l'Italie d'avant la transition. En utilisant des

M. Breschi
Department of Economics, University of Sassari, Via Torre Tonda 34, 07100 Sassari, Italy

A. Fornasin · M. Zacchigna
Department of Statistics, University of Udine, via Treppo 18, 33100 Udine, Italy

M. Manfredini (✉)
Department of Genetics Anthropology Evolution, University of Parma, Parco Area delle Scienze, 43100 Parma, Italy
e-mail: matteo.manfredini@unipr.it

données à l'échelle micro en provenance des communautés de métayers de Casaguildi et Madregolo et du village Alpin de Treppo Carnico, nous avons mis en évidence des similarités et des différences dans les modalités des remariages, et en particulier une intensité bien moindre du phénomène dans la communauté montagnarde que dans les communautés de métayers. Nos résultats indiquent que, en parallèle aux différences en matière de système démographique, de structure des ménages et de régime de propriété foncière, des éléments normatifs concernant le veuvage et le système de dot pourraient expliquer une partie des différences observées.

Mots-clés Remariage · Structure des ménages · Italie

1 Remarriage in Pre-Transitional Italy

Remarriage is a very complex phenomenon depending on both mortality and marriage patterns. Sophisticated analyses are necessary to prepare the ground for historical interpretation of trends and differentials. Quantitative information in the pre-statistical period is scarce. In Italy, the first statistics of marriage by spouses' marital status date back to the first years of the 19th century. It is only with the unity of Italy (1861) that the documentation became more continuous, allowing identification of the different remarriage patterns within the national borders (Livi Bacci 1981). However, the descriptive and aggregative nature of such data did not allow any research on the determinants of remarriage. Even the nominative approach, at least the techniques based on family reconstitution, have only permitted partial analyses of remarriage, a situation that was due either to the small number of remarriages celebrated in a given parish or to intrinsic technical problems of measurement which restricted the sample size (Henry and Blum 1988; Knodel 1988; Wrigley et al. 1997). Notwithstanding these difficulties, some studies on small communities outlined some of the most important key points of remarriage, especially those concerning the bio-demographic characteristics of widowed people. They can be summarized as follows: (a) widowers were more likely to remarry than widows, usually shortly after wife's death, and to younger and never-married women; (b) widows over 40 years of age seldom remarried, especially if they had children; (c) the younger the widowed person, the higher the probability of finding a new spouse regardless of gender (Blom 1991).[1]

This strong asymmetry by gender is linked not only with demographic constraints but also with economic, cultural and social factors concerning the different social role of men and women in past societies, especially in the inheritance system.[2] In Italy, for instance, despite significant regional differences,[3] under the dominant

[1] In the second half of the 20th century, remarriage was conditioned almost everywhere by factors and behaviours quite similar to those observed in pre-industrial societies (Chamie and Nsuly 1981; Smith et al 1991).

[2] For a review of the factors affecting remarriage, see Elman and London 2002. For a costs-benefits analysis of remarriage in pre-industrial populations, see Lundh 2002.

[3] In some areas of southern Italy, the house was one of the elements of the dowry assigned to daughters (Davis 1973; Galt 1991).

inheritance model property was handed down to and through men, excluding women from property ownership. Women's share was limited to the dowry. Upon marriage, women were never totally integrated into the agnatic lineage of their husbands but were, in Klapisch-Zuber's words, "passing guests" (Klapisch-Zuber 1985a). Nor did they inherit from their husbands. Consequently, a widow who chose to remarry could claim nothing but her dowry, and in some circumstances, widows could even lose their children and any rights (usufruct) on the husband's house if they chose to remarry (Calvi 1994, 1998).

The importance of widow/widower's socio-economic status on the decision to remarry is still controversial, however. Some authors found a higher risk in the poorest strata of society (Sogner and Dupaquier 1981), while an opposite pattern was detected in the Finnish countryside, where remarriage was more common among landowners than the landless (Moring 2002). In particular, the availability of land would seem to increase the likelihood of widows' remarriage. In the Austrian countryside, a second marriage was actually more frequent among the most well-off than among the poorest widows: the presence of a man was, in fact, crucial to manage and till the land (Brown 2002). Similar results were found in 18th century Massachusetts (Keyssar 1974) and in pre-industrial France, where remarrying was an option almost exclusively reserved for wealthy widows (Fauve-Chamoux 2002). Conversely, other studies did not find any striking socio-occupational differential in the chances of remarriage (Knodel and Lynch 1985; Knodel 1988; Van Poppel 1995; McQuillan 2003). The absence of occupational differentials in the frequency of remarriage does not, however, imply that the process of remarriage proceeded similarly in the different social groups. The influence of economic factors on remarriage is difficult to determine, for women in particular (Elman and London 2002). The availability of economic resources can, in fact, act as either a deterrent or an incentive. It could make it easier to attract a new partner or, conversely, it could make remarriage less necessary as wealthy widowed persons were able to hire paid help in the home and on the farm.

Regarding the decision to remarry, widows and widowers were in any case subject to strong pressure from within and outside the household, especially in those Catholic countries where the Church and common moral principles often discouraged second unions, especially for widows with children.[4]

"This, anyway, is the theory" as Kertzer and Karweit (1995, p. 230) have observed in their study on widowhood in Casalecchio di Reno between 1861 and 1921, the most important study on widowhood for an Italian community based on individual-level data. Kertzer and Karweit concur with Livi Bacci in his reconstruction of the regional geography of remarriage rates in Italy at the beginning of demographic transition. Massimo Livi Bacci's study of remarriage in the 1880s (1981) found much higher rates in the South than in the Centre-North of Italy. Both authors stressed the same point, arguing that "It is tempting to correlate the very low proportions of women who remarry in some rural regions of central Italy with the more structured family system

[4] Remarriage has often been subject to public disapproval (*charivari*), especially when the new union was considered not socially respectable, i.e. a large age gap between spouses (Le Goff and Schmitt 1981; Klapisch-Zuber 1985b; Corsini 1980 and 1981).

typical of the sharecropping system of agriculture. The extended family provided the help needed by the widow, thus lessening the need for a second marriage" (Livi Bacci 1981, pp. 358–359). Living in simple rather than in multiple households could indeed be a key factor influencing the likelihood of remarriage. In a simple nuclear family, the loss of the spouse could have dramatic consequences on the surviving partner who found him/herself alone in taking care of children. On the other hand, widowed persons living in multiple households could count on the other household members for help and support, and this reduced the risk of a fall in their standard of living. This latter situation could then reduce the importance and urgency of finding a new spouse (Tittarelli 1991). Nevertheless, this interpretation is still waiting to be definitely proved and other factors might be at play in the decision to remarry.[5] Many Italian communities were characterized by very different permanent celibacy rates, and this fact had obvious consequences on the size of marriage and remarriage markets. As already pointed out by other scholars (Van Poppel 1995; Matthijs 2003), this factor might strongly affect the chances of remarriage. For instance, Keyssar (1974) found that widows married quite frequently in 18th century colonial Massachusetts, a society characterized by a low celibacy rate for females. Moreover, not only the market size but also its characteristics might influence the intensity of remarriage. Nuptiality regimes characterized by early access to first marriage often produce young widow(er)s who, especially if females and without children, are more able to compete with never-married people in the same marriage market (Bideau 1980). Conversely, late age at first marriage yields old widowed persons, who represent less desirable partners (Fauve-Chamoux 2002). Since the literature data have proved the existence of sharecropping communities with different levels of celibacy and timing of access to marriage (Barbagli 1990; Breschi and Rettaroli 1995; Rettaroli 1993), we also expect to find differentials in remarriage among sharecropping populations. To be proved, these hypotheses require individual-level information to guarantee the necessary in-depth insight, but these data are seldom available for Italian populations of the past. Thus, the role of those factors remains largely unexplored for Italy, especially if considered in a dynamic and longitudinal perspective. In a previous paper on remarriage in a pre-transitional Tuscan community, Casalguidi, we used such longitudinal data to demonstrate the role of household compositional elements as pivotal determinants of remarriage, although with differential impacts by gender (Breschi et al. 2007b). However, in a society such as pre-transitional Italy with such extreme variety in forms of co-residence, socio-economic and demographic factors and in legislative norms, the analysis of a single community, even when highly detailed, may prove too specific and limited in its explanatory power. For these reasons, in the present paper we have decided to take a step further by broadening our analysis of remarriage to other populations of pre-transitional Italy to compare the determinants of remarriage in different social, political and economic contexts. We will contrast the remarriage patterns of three different communities, the already studied Tuscan sharecropping population of Casalguidi (1819–1859), the Emilian

[5] Matthijs (2003) proposed a theoretical framework similar to Livi Bacci's interpretation of the lower propensity to remarriage of rural populations with respect to urban ones. In the 19th century Flemish countryside, households were larger and more complex than those living in the cities, and this fact reduced the pressure to remarry.

rural parish of Madregolo (1761–1883), and the Alpine village of Treppo Carnico (1835–1867). While the latter represents a typical mountain population with a low-pressure demographic regime and a peculiar household structure typology, Madregolo is another sharecropping village whose nuptiality pattern, household characteristics and economic structure are very different from those of Casalguidi. We think that the characteristics of these three populations will give us the opportunity to test some of the hypotheses raised above, in particular to what extent household composition as well as social and cultural norms associated with marriage can shape remarriage patterns towards a process of differentiation.

2 The Communities: Casalguidi, 1819–1859, Madregolo, 1761–1883, and Treppo Carnico, 1835–1867

Casalguidi is a small town (2,400 residents on average) belonging to the Grand Duchy of Tuscany, situated only few kilometres from the cities of Pistoia and Florence, while Madregolo is a small parish in the territory of the Duchy of Parma with a mean population size of about 600 inhabitants per year. The territory of Casalguidi is not completely flat, and a part of the population is scattered on the hills surrounding the main village, while the parish of Madregolo is on a plain close to the Taro River.

From a demographic point of view, the two communities present quite similar levels of mortality and fertility, clearly indicating a pre-transitional demographic regime. Life expectancy at birth was around 34–36 years, and the total fertility rate between 5.2 and 5.3 children per woman (Table 1). However, Madregolo differed from Casalguidi in some respects, notably in terms of nuptiality patterns and intensity of migration. In Casalguidi, men married at 28–29 years and women at 25, with permanent celibacy rates of, respectively, 15.1% and 10.1% (Table 1). On the other hand, in Madregolo, people married earlier, about 2 years earlier on average, and presented much lower rates of permanent celibacy, in particular among females, with only 1.6% of women still unmarried at 50. The form of living arrangement after marriage varied according to the husband's occupation. In both communities, sharecroppers usually followed a patrilocal pattern[6] due to the crucial role of the male workforce in sharecropping households, while day labourers and artisans were much more likely to form new families after marriage, independent from their parents' households (Barbagli 1988).

The household structure (Table 1) is characterized by the strong presence of complex[7] households typical of sharecropping societies, accounting for over one-

[6] We use the term patrilocal, uxorilocal and neolocal to indicate the form of living arrangement after marriage. Patrilocal refers to couples living in the husband's parental household, uxorilocal to couples living in the wife's parental household, and finally neolocal refers to couples forming a new family independent from respective parental households.

[7] In this paper, we have adopted a simplified Laslett's categorization of household structure involving the typologies of nuclear, complex, solitary and no-structure households. The first group refers to households formed by only one biological unit (parent(s)+children), the second one by households with only one biological unit plus some relatives (extended) and households with two or more biological units, the third one by individuals living alone, and the last one by those households without any biological unit (for instance, households formed by siblings only).

Table 1 Selected demographic indicators for the three communities

	Madregolo (1761–1883)			Casalguidi (1819–1859)			Treppo Carnico (1835–1867)		
	Male	Female		Male	Female		Male	Female	
SMAM	26.8	23.9		28.7	25.6		31.4	28.7	
Celibacy	9.0	1.6		15.1	10.1		14.4	16.7	
e_0	36.6	34.7		36.6	33.9		39.5	38.9	
TFR		5.3			5.2			4.8	
	HH type	Pop.	MHS	HH type	Pop.	MHS	HH type	Pop.	MHS
Nuclear	54.4	38.7	4.1	58.1	49.6	4.4	59.4	56.9	4.7
Complex	35.6	57.1	9.0	35.2	48.2	7.1	30.5	39.6	6.4
Solitaries	3.7	0.6	1.0	4.5	0.9	1.0	6.3	1.3	1.0
No structure	6.3	3.6	3.3	2.2	1.3	3.1	3.8	2.2	3.0
Total	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	
Annual mean	94	547	5.8	464	2,402	5.2	230	1,122	4.9

Note: SMAM is the singulate mean age at marriage; celibacy is defined as the proportion never-married at age 50; e_0 denotes life expectancy at birth; TFR is the total fertility rate; MHS is the mean household size. The values of e_0 and TFR for Madregolo refer to the period 1800–1883

third of total domestic aggregates, and representing 57.1% and 48.2% of total population, respectively, in Madregolo and Casalguidi. Given the strict link between household size and farm size that characterized sharecropping societies, the larger and more complex households living in Madregolo indicate the existence of larger farms than in Casalguidi. This is further confirmed by a more frequent presence of multiple households (27.4% and 13.5% respectively), particularly those with 3+ co-resident couples (52.3% and 4.4% of total multiple households).

The socio-occupational profile of the two populations reflects their agricultural vocation. Despite a similar proportion employed in agriculture, around 70–75% of total household heads, the occupational structure of the Tuscan community was more stratified. One of the reasons was the different structure of land tenure caused by the diverse geographical and morphological characteristics of the two locations. In Madregolo, land ownership was less dispersed, and large farms were run primarily by sharecroppers hired by landowners or, more likely, by tenants on behalf of absent landowners. Thus, a very large proportion of the agricultural sector of Madregolo was made up of landless people, namely sharecroppers and poor farm labourers. This specific and almost exclusive form of land tenure explains the very high levels of mobility of this community, far higher than those assessed for Casalguidi. On an annual basis, the turnover was in fact about 300 per thousand on average between 1800 and 1883 (Breschi and Manfredini 2002). In Casalguidi, the farm size was not that large, especially in the hilly areas. In this part of the territory, the existence of smallholders who cultivated their own land contrasted with the larger presence of sharecroppers and farm labourers living in the plain. In addition, artisans and shopkeepers lived in the main village of the parish along with nobles and a tiny bourgeoisie, even though this latter category represented only a minority

(Breschi et al. 2004). Finally, while some forms of proto-industry were already operative in Casalguidi, in Madregolo not only was there nothing of that sort, but agricultural techniques were also more archaic than they were in the Tuscan community. Consequently, in Madregolo agricultural produce was limited to a rotation of corn and wheat (Spaggiari 1966), while in Casalguidi grapes and olives were cultivated together with grain and other cereals (Breschi and Francini 1990).

In Casalguidi, the economic status of each household can also be assessed thanks to the availability of information relative to the Family Tax. In a context of general poverty—87% of total households living in Casalguidi in the period 1819–1859 were either exempt from tax for manifest indigence or required to pay a very small amount of money—about 97% of the 2,470 households headed by widows were poor, clear evidence of the marginal role of widows in this community when they remained alone. Women had no direct access to sharecropping contracts (only men could be in charge), and it was practically impossible for them to be hired for farm labour. Employment as a servant was almost the sole opportunity available to them in this rural society.

Treppo Carnico is a village of about 1,100 inhabitants and 230 households on yearly average. It is located in Carnia, a mountainous region of northeastern Italy that in the period studied was part of the Austrian Empire. The local economy was based on the regular seasonal emigration of adult men. In the mid-19th century, the activities associated with these emigration flows were in a phase of profound change. Until the middle of the 18th century, emigrants were mainly pedlars and artisans, but in the second half of the 19th century masons progressively replaced those categories. In the period of transition between the two professional patterns, i.e. the period studied here, farm activities gained a more important role in the seasonal emigration of men although they still had a minor role in the local economic system (Fornasin 1998).

From a demographic point of view, Treppo Carnico displayed lower levels of both mortality and fertility. Life expectancy at birth was 39 years, and the TFR was 4.8 children per woman (Breschi et al. 1999). Carnia was therefore characterized by a low-pressure demographic regime, whose preventive checks were a very high age at first marriage (31.4 years for men, 28.7 for women) and remarkably high levels of permanent celibacy (14.4% for men, 16.7% for women). Like other mountain populations, residence after marriage was patrilocal or, secondarily, neolocal. As for the household structure, robust data are available only for those years in which the three distinct population registers were set up, namely 1834, 1851 and 1867: 59.4% of total households were simple households, while 30.5% were complex households representing 39.6% of the overall population.

Regarding socio-economic status, our sources do not supply any information on Family Tax. However, the Austrian Cadastre of 1851 provides data on land ownership for the population of Treppo Carnico that can be taken as a proxy of the socio-economic status of households. It is noteworthy that in Carnia collective land tenure still had a strong economic relevance. In Treppo Carnico, the cadastre revenue for public goods was higher than the corresponding revenue for private owners. We think this is a crucial element for a correct understanding of wealth distribution within the community. In fact, every family descending from the

original ones, also the least well-off, had revenues at their own disposal. The large scale collective land ownership operated as a mechanism of wealth redistribution, capable of substantially reducing the economic inequalities within the local population. The cadastre does not only record information concerning land ownership but also data relative to houses. Taking into account data on houses, the evidence of an egalitarian distribution of property is even more striking. At the end of 1851, 229 out of 236 households lived in their own houses. The total number of variously defined habitations was 298, higher than the number of resident households. The resulting picture is a community where house ownership was practically universal. The three populations could not be more far apart, at a least from a socio-economic point of view.

The comparison of those populations is therefore quite interesting because the three communities not only belonged to different political administrations, but they were also characterized by different socio-economic structures, geographical contexts and, more importantly, different nuptiality patterns.

3 Sources

The data used in this paper come mainly from two different types of documents: local population registers and parish registers. Our sources for sharecropping communities are annual nominative lists of households and inhabitants, called *Status Animarum*, supplemented by parish registers of vital events. The *Status Animarum* was a kind of annual census recorded by the parish priest at Easter, with nominative data organized by household. Age, sex, marital status and relationship to the household head were recorded for each person. The annual recording of *Status Animarum* makes it possible to trace changes in household size and composition throughout the period studied. Vital events (registers of baptism, burial, and marriage) were linked to *Status Animarum* by means of nominative techniques.[8]

The marriage registers include all the weddings celebrated in the churches of Madregolo and Casalguidi, i.e. all endogamous marriages and exogamous unions between local women and foreign men. Marriages between local men and non-local women were conversely always celebrated in the bride's parish, leaving no trace in the registers of the groom's parish.[9] However, the nominative linkage of individual information from both vital records and census sources made it possible to reconstruct the life-histories of each resident (as long as he/she remained in the community), including those marriages between local men and foreign women not recorded in the marriage registers of the local parish. By checking all the men who changed their marital status from unmarried (or widowed) to married between two consecutive *Status Animarum* it was in fact possible to retrieve information such as the year of marriage, name, surname and age of the spouse for those missing

[8] The linkage technique is described in Manfredini 1996.

[9] The acts supply information on the wedding date, name and surname of spouses and parents, as well as current spouses' place of residence. In Casalguidi, the marriage registers also provide information on the spouses' marital status at the moment of marriage, data that is absent, on the other hand, in the parish acts of Madregolo.

marriages. Identification of the groom's marital status the year before marriage allowed us to determine whether this was his first or second marriage.

Parish registers do not usually provide information on socio-economic status. The *Status Animarum* of Casalguidi is a rare exception since they always report the name of the house owner. Crucial data to assess the economic status of households come from the Family Tax Register, whose nominative information on household heads was linked to *Status Animarum*.

For the Alpine village of Treppo Carnico, we use two population registers. The first was started in 1834 and kept updated until 1850; the second register, which replaced the first one, started in 1851 and continued until the end of 1868, about 2 years after Friuli came under the control of the Kingdom of Italy. The population register contains information on all the members of households in Treppo Carnico, specifying name and family name of each household member along with dates of vital events: birth, death, marriage(s) and movements into and/or outside the household. Nominative data recorded in the population register were supplemented with information taken from parish registers, which served mostly to correct underreporting of newborn deaths.

We can thus trace the life history of each individual either directly by consulting the population register (Treppo Carnico) or indirectly by linking the *Status Animarum* to parish vital registers (Casalguidi and Madregolo). By placing demographic events in the household context where they occurred, we can go well beyond classic family reconstitution techniques to explore the relationship between family organization and individual life-histories. This in turn opens new prospects for understanding demographic phenomena before the era of modern statistics in Italy. While the usefulness of civil population registers for the study of post-Unification Italy has been recognized for some time (Schiaffino 1979; Kertzer and Hogan 1989), our analysis of ecclesiastical sources is the first to our knowledge.[10]

4 Remarriage in the Three Communities

Remarriage is usually approached by analysing the distribution of marriages by marital status (Table 2). This is a relatively easy task also for the 16th–18th centuries using usual sources such as marriage parish registers.[11] Casalguidi is the community with the highest proportion of remarriage, (23.1%), a proportion that closely mirrors that calculated for the whole of Tuscany (Breschi 1990) in the period 1853–1860 (20.6%). Madregolo, despite its common sharecropping tradition, shows a lower figure, 15.1%, much more similar to that of the mountain population of Treppo Carnico (14.7%). In terms of differential access to remarriage by gender, the gap between men and women is striking, with the exception of Madregolo. In

[10] Although family reconstitution can incorporate census data, such information is not frequently used in family reconstitution studies for Italy. For details, see Manfredini (1996).

[11] This possibility depends on the quality of recordings. In Italy, marital status is also recorded in the most ancient parish registers, although in an indirect form (name and surname of the previous spouse). However, one should be cautious in the use of such information since it was more likely to be recorded for women than for men.

Table 2 Proportion of remarriages in the three communities

	Madregolo (1761–1883)		Casalguidi (1819–1859)		Treppo Carnico (1835–1867)	
	n	%	*n*	%	*n*	%
Widower/XXXX	83	11.2	205	20.1	42	13.2
XXXX/Widow	60	8.1	68	6.7	7	2.2
Total with widow(er)	113	15.2	235	23.1	47	14.7
Total	741	100.0	1019	100.0	319	100.0

Note: marriage acts not reporting information on marital status of both spouses were excluded

Casalguidi, about 20 men out of 100 were widowed at the moment of marriage, figures that are 2–3 times higher than the corresponding proportion of women (only 6.7 out of 100). In Treppo Carnico, despite overall lower levels of remarriage, the gender differential is even larger due to a very limited access to remarriage of widows (only 2.2 out of 100). Finally, in Madregolo the gap shrinks considerably, with 11.2% of men widowed at marriage against a figure of 8.1% among women.

Nevertheless, the proportion of remarriages is not an accurate measure of remarriage intensity as it is also a function of first-marriage intensity and mortality level. Moreover, the weight of missing information on marital status of spouses not belonging to the population under study, such as the case of 125 exogamous marriages celebrated in Madregolo between a local women and a foreign man, may sometimes bias the estimation. The use of such a simplified indicator is justified only by the difficulty of measuring correctly the population at risk of entering a second union, namely widowed people (Matthijs 2003). Although such information is rarely available for historic populations, in this study the reconstruction of individual life-histories allowed more precise evaluations and measures of remarriage.

We are therefore able to look in detail first at widowhood and then at intensity and timing of remarriage in each community. This operation entails assessing the people who change from married to widowed status and the annual population by sex, age, and marital status. Table 3 shows age at widowhood for the three communities in the respective study periods.

The first age class obviously reflects the different timing of access to marriage (see Table 1). Late age at first marriage in Treppo Carnico entailed a lower number of union disruptions before age 35. Nevertheless, in all the villages nearly 50% of men who lost their wives became widowers before age 50, a consequence of the higher female risk of death associated with frequent childbirths. At the end of the reproductive period, the proportion of widows is lower than that of widowers, but higher in the sharecropping villages (44.6% and 43.9%, respectively, in Casalguidi and Madregolo) than in the Alpine one (31.8%). Once this risky phase of life was over, union disruptions due to husband's death became more frequent, 55.4% in Casalguidi, 56.1% in Madregolo, and 68.1% in Treppo Carnico.

Much more marked is the difference between populations in terms of mean age at widowhood. The Alpine dwellers lost their spouse 4–5 years later on average than peasants of the plain, at around 55 age years for the former, and age 50 for the latter.

Table 3 Age at widowhood by sex in the three communities

	Madregolo (1761–1883)		Casalguidi (1819–1859)		Treppo Carnico (1835–1867)	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
<35	19.9	11.8	18.7	14.6	10.2	9.1
35–49	28.2	32.1	31.2	30.0	37.8	22.7
50–64	28.7	40.1	30.5	37.1	29.6	38.6
65+	23.2	16.0	19.6	18.3	22.4	29.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
MAW	50.6	50.8	49.7	50.8	53.1	55.6
Proportion <50	48.1	43.9	49.9	44.6	48.0	31.8
% age unknown	0.0	0.0	5.4	6.1	3.0	2.2
N	146	193	290	309	101	90

Note: MAW is the mean age at widowhood

This differential is easily explainable in terms of the later age at first marriage of the mountain population. Moreover, the differential between populations tends to broaden due to a lower intensity of mortality in the Alpine population. This partly accounts for the small proportion of widowed people before age 35 years in Treppo Carnico, about 0.5% for both men and women (Table 4). Widow(er)s, on the other hand, represent 1–2% of the ever-married population. This latter calculation partially eliminates the effects of the marital status structure of the population produced by the differential access and intensity of marriage in the two communities. The presence of widow(er)s tends to increase with age as well as the gender differential (Table 4). In all the populations studied, about 24–29% of women are widowed in the 50–64 age group. Widowers are less numerous, 1 out of 10 in Casalguidi and 1 out of 7 in Treppo Carnico and Madregolo. Over age 65, in Casalguidi about two-thirds (65.6%) of all women are widowed against an incidence of only one-fourth (25.4%) among men. In Treppo Carnico and Madregolo, this gender asymmetry is less marked: widows amount to 55–58% of all women aged 65+ and widowers 37%. Overall, widows represent about 10–13% of total population while widowers amount to only 5–8%.

The figures of Table 4 are the result of many forces. Limiting the description to demographic factors only, it illustrates the different marriage models, the age difference between spouses, the different impact of mortality by gender and age and, finally, the differential access to remarriage of widows and widowers in the communities.[12] This latter point is analysed in Table 5. It describes the propensity to remarriage by means of age-specific rates in the populations studied, for men and women separately. The gender differential results are even more striking in relation to the process of formation of a new family, with males showing a far higher propensity to remarry throughout the life course and especially at older ages. This gender disparity is noticeable especially in the mountain village of Treppo Carnico.

[12] The influence of different marriage patterns and differential mortality selection by age and gender has been analysed in a paper presented at the 2007 PAA Annual Meeting (Breschi et al. 2007a).

Table 4 Population widowed by age and sex (%) in the three communities

	Age	Madregolo (1761–1883)		Casalguidi (1819–1859)		Treppo Carnico (1835–1867)	
		Tot.pop.	Ever-marr.	Tot.pop.	Ever-marr.	Tot.pop.	Ever-marr.
Males	18–34	0.9	2.0	0.8	2.4	0.6	2.5
	35–49	3.8	4.3	2.9	3.6	4.8	6.2
	50–64	13.8	15.6	9.2	10.6	13.0	14.3
	65+	36.4	40.4	25.4	28.2	36.9	39.0
	Total	6.6	9.6	5.1	8.2	8.1	13.6
Females	18–34	0.7	1.1	1.1	2.3	0.5	1.5
	35–49	9.1	9.5	8.8	10.0	8.1	10.2
	50–64	26.2	27.7	29.5	32.7	24.1	28.1
	65+	58.4	61.0	65.6	70.9	55.7	62.3
	Total	10.6	13.3	13.9	19.6	13.4	21.5

Even though the remarriage rate of widowers is not especially high (49.1 per thousand), the very low propensity of widows to remarry (5.4 per thousand) yields a large differential between genders. In the sharecropping communities, the gap does not ever reach that extent, although the chances for widows of finding a new spouse are almost zero in every population once the reproductive period is over. Table 5 suggests another important consideration. In terms of total remarriage rate, the figures seem to support the hypothesis of a close link, at least for females, between celibacy and age at marriage, on the one hand, and remarriage level, on the other hand. In fact, the higher the celibacy rate and the mean age at first marriage, the lower the remarriage rate. The population with the lowest overall level of remarriage among widows (5.4 per thousand) is also the one with the highest proportion of female celibacy (16.7%), whereas Madregolo, which has the highest rate of remarriage (22.4 per thousand), presents the lowest level of female celibacy (only 1.6%) and the earliest access to first marriage of women (23.9 years). Obviously, the likelihood of remarriage is affected and shaped by many socio-demographic factors besides age, intimately associated in a complex mechanism of interrelationship whose study definitely calls for a micro-analytic approach.

5 Remarrying in a Micro-Analytical Perspective

As previously mentioned, there is no doubt that descriptive analyses provide only limited insight into remarriage patterns. Instead, the best way to analyse the determinants of nuptiality is to investigate the process in a dynamic perspective. The decision or opportunity to remarry was a consequence not only of many interacting demographic factors, but also of other (sometimes) more relevant elements, such as household co-residential patterns, previous marriage and fertility history, socio-economic status. Furthermore, the complexity of the explanatory framework that determines the choice of a spouse makes descriptive statistics ill-adapted to

Table 5 Remarriage rates by sex and community (×1,000 widowed people) in the three communities

	Madregolo (1761–1883)		Casalguidi (1819–1859)		Treppo Carnico (1835–1867)	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
15–24	200.0	571.4	0.0	250.0	0.0	0.0
25–34	246.6	224.1	319.6	164.2	102.6	125.0
35–44	218.8	48.3	241.2	44.6	154.5	30.3
45–54	57.3	15.0	126.6	7.2	78.6	0.0
55–64	23.0	4.9	32.4	1.6	18.3	2.5
65–74	8.6	4.3	8.9	2.7	4.1	0.0
Overall	61.3	22.4	87.4	14.5	49.1	5.4

Note: Overall rate refers to age-bracket 25–74 due to the low numbers of widowed people <25

illuminating the multidisciplinary nature of such an issue. For all these reasons, we used individual-level data. A discrete-time logistic regression was used and two separate models for widows and widowers were estimated because of the marked differentiation by gender. The aim is to look for household-level determinants able to explain some of the differences between the three communities, after controlling for some demographic variables, namely age and duration of widowhood. Our first purpose will be to investigate, by means of a time-varying covariate, the role of children from previous marriage(s) on the likelihood of remarriage.[13] Children have often been regarded as an obstacle to remarriage, especially for widows. Marrying a widow with children may in fact become economically disadvantageous for peasant families given their limited contribution to agricultural labour. Conversely, widowers co-residing with children could be stimulated in the search for a new bride by the necessity to provide them with more care and attention (Bideau and Perrenoud 1981). In a recent paper, we found evidence for Casalguidi that such an issue was relevant only in the case of dependent children (<12 years), in other words young people not yet able to work but simply in need of close care and attention (Breschi et al. 2007b).

Table 6 shows relative risks and *p*-values of the variables included in the basic model focusing on the influence of demographic variables and presence of children. Despite its relative simplicity, it allows us to highlight important differences between Treppo Carnico, on the one hand, and the two sharecropping communities, on the other hand. Moreover, different patterns by gender characterize each population. For widows, the extremely limited propensity to remarry identified at the descriptive level in the Alpine community manifests itself in the low responsiveness of remarriage risk to each of the variables estimated apart from the presence of children from previous marriage(s). Although we are fully aware of the much reduced number of events in this model, a factor that may limit the validity of parameter estimates, the finding is perfectly consistent with the results relative to the other communities and it clearly proves the wide-ranging negative

[13] This factor has been seldom investigated as a time-dependent variable, liable to change as a result of departures, emigration, and deaths of some or all the children.

Table 6 Basic risk model for the determinants of remarriage

Covariates	Madregolo 1800–1883		Casalguidi 1819–1859		Treppo Carnico 1835–1867	
	M Odds	F Odds	M Odds	F Odds	M Odds	F Odds
Age (ref. <35 years)	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000
35–49 years	1.303	**0.200**	0.859	**0.228**	1.748	0.594
50–74 years	**0.140**	**0.012**	**0.225**	**0.011**	**0.192**	**0.031**
Duration of widowhood (ref. 0–2 years)	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000
3–5 years	**0.349**	1.607	**0.436**	0.698	0.641	0.881
6+ years	**0.068**	0.481	**0.165**	0.371	0.912	3.495
Duration unknown	**0.141**	0.518	**0.409**	0.445	**0.348**	0.305
Co-resident children from previous marriage (ref. no children)	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000
At least one child <12 years co-resident	**0.403**	**0.485**	0.842	**0.201**	1.380	**0.189**
Only children 12+ years co-resident	**0.402**	**0.316**	**0.295**	**0.219**	1.344	**0.112**
Log likelihood	−182.4	−129.0	−195.9	−195.9	−102.8	−32.5
Person-years	988	1,806	1,300	3,605	761	1,363
Events	72	35	119	55	33	6

Widow(er)s 18–74 years

Note: In bold coefficients statistically significant ($p \leq 0.05$)

impact on remarriage played by the presence of children of whatever age. On the contrary, the effects on widowers are much more diversified between the three communities. In Treppo Carnico, widowers are positively conditioned, although the coefficients are non-statistically significant, by the presence of children of whatever age, while in the rural villages of the plain the association is always negative. In particular, in Madregolo the response is significant for the presence of children of whatever age, while in Casalguidi this is the case only for co-residence with children aged 12+.

The patterns of Casalguidi and Madregolo also overlap perfectly as far as demographic variables are concerned. As expected, the remarriage risk of widows is more sensitive to the biological reproductive capacity, in the sense that the risk of remarrying falls significantly as age increases. Widowers are conversely more responsive to the duration of widowhood, with the likelihood of remarriage decreasing significantly by 55–65% after only 3–5 years following the wife's death and being nearly zero after 6 + years.[14]

The effects on remarriage caused by the interrelationship between co-residence of children could also be shaped by the structure of the household in which the widow(er)

[14] The "duration unknown" category includes most of the long-time widow/widowers: it includes all those persons who were widowed from the beginning of observation and whose spouse's date of death is missing.

lived. Following Livi Bacci's and Matthjis's thesis, widowed people living with children in large and multiple households may in fact be under less pressure to find a new partner than widow(er)s living in other household contexts. Large and complex households could in fact provide mutual help and support to their members in case of necessity, thereby lessening the need for remarriage. Nevertheless, this was true only for blood relatives. Women living in the parents-in-law's house (given the patrilocal pattern of living arrangements after marriage, this was the most common situation) were in a subordinate position within the husband's family group, and their position could weaken further after the husband's death. Parents-in-law and/or siblings-in-law could discourage the widow from remarrying, since in such a case they would have been obliged to return her dowry. On the other hand, widowed people received only limited support in nuclear households, and this situation could encourage the widow or widower, especially the former, to look for a new partner. It would therefore be interesting to check which force prevailed: widows' need for security and economic support that drove them to find a new partner, or the social stigma and economic problems that remarrying a widow, especially with children, might pose for potential husbands. This issue could be of some concern especially when contrasting the two sharecropping communities. Could the smaller, less complex and less structured households existing in Casalguidi be somehow less able to guarantee protection and support to widow(er)s than the larger and more complex households living in Madregolo? Could a smaller network of co-residing relatives be less persuasive in discouraging widows from remarrying? As for Treppo Carnico, the small number of remarriages would unfortunately produce unstable and non-robust estimates in case of any further and more refined specifications of household-level variables.

Operatively, rather than specifying various covariates capturing the effects associated with different co-residents such as parents, parents-in-law, brothers, and sisters, we decided to use a single variable combining the effects on remarriage of the presence of co-residing children, their age (below or over 12 years) and household structure (Table 7).

In this respect, we found interesting differences by gender between and within populations. As for widowers living in Madregolo, a significant and consistent reduction of the risk (between 60 and 70% lower compared to the reference category) was found in the case of co-residence with children in complex households, regardless of age. The model depicts a somewhat different situation in Casalguidi, where the discriminant factor is the presence of children already able to work (12+ years) rather than the household structure. Their presence entails a 63% significant decrease of remarriage risk if the widower co-resided with children in a nuclear household, 73% if living in a complex one. In Casalguidi, the urgency of remarriage ceased only when there was no need to provide parental assistance and support to young children, while it was strongly present in all the other cases, even when the widower lived in a complex household. In our opinion, the low degree of complexity of multiple and extended households existing in the Tuscan parish made it harder to find help and assistance even within the domestic aggregate. This was not the case of Madregolo, where the larger presence of multiple households coupled with a mean larger size made it easier to remedy the death of one of the spouses, operating as deterrent to widower's remarriage. In other words, the results

Table 7 Secondary risk model for the determinants of remarriage

Covariates	Madregolo 1800–1883		Casalguidi 1819-1859	
	M Odds	F Odds	M Odds	F Odds
Age (ref. <35 years)	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000
35–49 years	1.208	**0.143**	1.149	**0.281**
50–79 years	**0.135**	**0.009**	**0.284**	**0.014**
Duration of widowhood (ref. 0–2 years)	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000
3–10 years	**0.361**	1.882	**0.486**	0.661
11+ years	**0.074**	0.507	**0.190**	0.342
Duration unknown	**0.139**	0.667	**0.468**	0.437
Household structure and presence of co-resident children				
from previous marriage (ref. Complex and no children)	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000
Nuclear and no children co-resident	1.219	**5.465**	2.543	1.525
Nuclear and at least 1 child <12 years co-resident	0.549	1.473	1.588	**0.135**
Nuclear and only children 12+ years co-resident	0.448	1.943	**0.373**	**0.324**
Complex and at least 1 child <12 years co-resident	**0.270**	0.918	0.629	**0.429**
Complex and only children 12+ years co-resident	**0.392**	–	**0.265**	**0.163**
Solitary	0.755	**6.832**	0.580	1.613
Undefined/without structure	0.394	0.853	0.377	–
Log likelihood	−180.8	−121.3	−299.6	−191.6
Person-years	988	1,204	1,300	3,571
Events	72	35	119	55

Widow(er)s 18–74 years

Note: In bold coefficients statistically significant ($p \leq 0.05$)

support the hypothesis that the smaller and less complex households living in the territory of Casalguidi were somehow less able to guarantee care and protection to young mothers with fatherless children.

For widows, the results shed some light on the questions we have posed above. In the household and economic system of Casalguidi, the greatest deterrent to remarriage was the problem, mainly of economic nature, that marrying a widow with children could pose to the husband's family. The risk of remarriage of widows with children, either young or older, was in fact far lower compared to the reference category whatever the household structure she was living in. At the end, it was very unlikely for a widow to find a new husband willing to assume such a heavy family burden. In Madregolo, the situation presents some specific features. Having children does not yield now any differential risk of remarriage when compared to widows living in complex households without children. What becomes crucial, on the other hand, is the absence of any family network imposing constraints and limitations on individual choice. For widows living alone or in nuclear households without children, namely living with parent(s), risks of remarriage are five to seven times higher than for the reference category. This finding seems to support Matthijs's and Bideau's idea that the more widows were similar to

never-married women the more likely they were to remarry, as if "remarriage was a type of second first marriage" (Matthijs 2003, p. 141). In any case, however, these results confirm the different and subordinate social positions of women in the Italian sharecropping societies of the 18th and 19th centuries.

6 Discussion and Concluding Remarks

By reconstructing the life-histories of the inhabitants of three communities of pre-transitional Italy, we were able to make an in-depth investigation of remarriage, an event usually on the fringe of historical demography. The results shed light on some intimate demographic, social and economic mechanisms that led some widowed persons to find a new partner and others to remain excluded from second unions. In addition, we had the opportunity to compare the remarriage patterns of populations that differed in terms of geographic location, political administration, demographic regime, and family formation system. Those patterns showed similarities and profound differences, elements that can be taken into account to explain dissimilar dispositions to remarriage by gender and population. The importance of demographic variables has been well documented in all the three populations, with gender and age determining marked differentials in the propensity to remarry. Age, in particular, is a determining factor for widows. Female remarriage rates drop so greatly after 34 years of age that age at first marriage plays a very different role in Madregolo and Treppo Carnico. Moreover, Madregolo and Casalguidi, despite their common agricultural vocation based on sharecropping, do present differentials in remarriage intensity that can again be associated with differentials in access to first marriage, especially on the female side. The early access to first marriage in the Emilian village, coupled with an inadequate supply of marriageable women as a consequence of very low female celibacy rates, made widows living in Madregolo more able to compete with never-married women. If these widows had no children from a previous marriage, they were definitely no different from never-married women in the eyes of unmarried men.

Nevertheless, these demographic factors conditioning remarriage appear somehow inadequate to explain differentials and specificities of various remarriage patterns, such as the very low propensity to remarry of the widows living in Treppo Carnico. Other factors must then be taken into account. First, the social stigma attached to remarried widows, which was also revealed through economic and legal aspects, such as those concerning the inheritance and dotal system. In general, there were no marked differences between the populations. The land was handed down from father to sons along the male line, and in the event of a husband's death, the surviving wife was normally excluded from succession. However, the Austrian law had more consideration for widows, protecting them with specific norms relative to inheritance and dotal systems.[15] This economic "protection" of widows did not exist at all in the

[15] In this region, the wife could always dispose of all goods and properties that the husband had registered to her, and as a widow she could inherit from the oldest son. Normally, the will included a clause of widowhood in order to inherit, but in the territory of the Austrian Empire, this norm had value only if the widow had children (Pincherli 1901, p. 187). In theory, the widow and her heirs could also dispose of the dowry.

two sharecropping communities (Scardozzi 1998, p. 97). Legal constraints on succession conditioned marriage customs because they had consequences on the distribution of wealth. In the sharecropping villages, economic inequality was stronger than it was in Treppo Carnico, where almost each family, widows included, owned plots of land, although small and at least a house. This was a common situation in many mountain communities (Fornasin 2002), but in Carnia the Law even favoured it. Since evidence of an inverse relationship between wealth and propensity to remarriage was found for Casalguidi (Breschi et al. 2007), one may assume that widespread land ownership, coupled with better economic conditions and legal protection for widows, could act as a preventive check on remarriage. On the contrary, in the rural populations of Casalguidi and Madregolo, widows were in a weaker position and economic necessity became the strongest incentive to remarriage for them. Hence, what most shaped and conditioned the likelihood of finding a new spouse in these sharecropping communities were human resources, here regarded as the potential to provide economic and emotional support to the weakest members. Nevertheless, things are not as simple as they might appear. The results for the two sharecropping populations seem to suggest that differences in household complexity and size between Casalguidi and Madregolo played a role in determining differential access to remarriage. The larger size and higher level of complexity of the domestic groups living in the Emilian parish represented the key element in the decision not to remarry. Those households had sufficient domestic human resources to provide widowers' children with care and protection as well as enough economic and social power to dissuade widows from remarrying. In this situation, widows were likely to remarry only when they lived alone or with their parent(s). In Casalguidi, on the other hand, the smaller size and lesser complexity of the households made the need to balance household size with the necessities of farm labour a much more relevant criterion in the decision to remarry. In this respect, number and age of children from previous marriages became a decisive factor. Widows had very little chance to find a new partner if they had one or more children, while widowers avoided remarrying when children were in less need of care and protection.

At the end, different demographic regimes, different inheritance and dotal systems as well as differences in household structure and size combined in ways that produced major differences in the likelihood of remarriage even in communities characterized by similar economic structures and forms of land tenure.

References

Barbagli, M. (1988). *Sotto lo stesso tetto. Mutamenti della famiglia in Italia dal XV al XX secolo*. Bologna: Il Mulino.

Barbagli, M. (1990). Sistemi di formazione della famiglia. In *Società Italiana di Demografia Storica, Popolazione, società e ambiente. Temi di demografia storica italiana* (*secc. XVII-XIXI*) (pp. 3–44). Bologna: Clueb.

Bideau, A. (1980). A demographic and social analysis of widowhood and remarriage: The example of the castellany of Thoissey-en-Dombes, 1670–1840. *Journal of Family History, 5*, 28–43.

Bideau, A., & Perrenoud, A. (1981). Remariage et fécondité. Contribution à l'étude des mécanismes de récuperation des populations anciennes. In J. Dupaquier, E. Hélin, P. Laslett, M. Livi Bacci

& E. Segner (Eds.), *Marriage and remarriage in populations of the past* (pp. 547–559). London: Academic Press.

Blom, A. (1991). The history of widowhood: a bibliographic overview. *Journal of Family History, 16*, 191–210.

Breschi, M. (1990). *La popolazione della Toscana dal 1640 al 1940. Un'ipotesi di ricostruzione*. Florence: Dipartimento Statistico.

Breschi, M., Derosas, R., & Manfredini, M. (2004). Mortality and environment in three Emilian, Tuscan, and Venetian communities, 1800–1883. In T. Bengtsson, C. Campbell & J. Lee (Eds.), *Life under pressure: Mortality and living standards in Europe and Asia, 1700–1900* (pp. 209–251). Cambridge: Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press.

Breschi, M., Fornasin, A., Manfredini, M., & Zacchigna, M. (2007a). "Until death do us apart" and even longer: demographic and social disapproval of remarriage in 19th century Italy. Paper presented at the 2007 PAA Annual Meeting, New York.

Breschi, M., & Francini, M. (1990). Popolazione e territorio nel pistoiese sotto i Lorena. In I. Tognarin (Ed.), *Il territorio pistoiese e i Lorena tra '700 e '800: viabilità e bonifiche*. Naples: Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane.

Breschi, M., Gonano, G., & Lorenzini, C. (1999). Il sistema demografico alpino. La popolazione della Carnia, 1775–1881. In M. Breschi (Ed.), *Vivere in Friuli. Saggi di demografia storica (secc. XVI–XIX)* (pp. 153–192). Udine: Forum.

Breschi, M., & Manfredini, M. (2002). Individual and family mobility. First results from an analysis on two Italian rural villages. In D. Barjot & O. Faron (Eds.), *Migrations, cycle de vie & marché du travail*. Cahiers des Annales de Demographie Historique, 3, 43–64.

Breschi, M., Manfredini, M., & Fornasin, A. (2007b). Remarriage in a pre-transitional Italian community. *Continuity and Change, 22*(3), 407–428.

Breschi, M., & Rettaroli, R. (1995). *La nuzialità in Toscana, secoli XIV-XIX*. In *Le Italie demografiche. Saggi di demografia storica* (pp. 21–43). Udine: Dipartimento di Scienze Statistiche.

Brown, J. (2002). Becoming widowed: rural widows in lower Austria, 1788–1848. *History of the Family, 7*(1), 117–124.

Calvi, G. (1994). Diritti e legami. Madri, figli, stato in Toscana (XVI–XVIII secolo). *Quaderni storici, 86*, 487–510.

Calvi, G. (1998). Reconstructing the family: Widowhood and remarriage in Tuscany in the Early Modern Period. In T. Dean & K. J. P. Lowe (Eds.), *Marriage in Italy, 1300–1650* (pp. 275–296). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Chamie, J., & Nsuly, S. (1981). Sex differences in remarriage and spouse selection. *Demography, 18*(3), 335–348.

Corsini, C.A. (1980). Uomini saggi, femmine folli. Appunti per una teoria del matrimonio: il caso delle seconde nozze. In *Studi in onore di Paolo Fortunati* (pp. 165–189). Bologna: Clueb.

Corsini, C. A. (1981). Why is remarriage a male affair? Some evidences from Tuscan villages during the eighteenth century. In J. Dupaquier, E. Hélin, P. Laslett, M. Livi Bacci & E. Segner (Eds.), *Marriage and remarriage in populations of the past* (pp. 385–396). London: Academic Press.

Davis, J. (1973). *Land and Family in Pisticci*. London: Athlone Press.

Elman, C., & London, A. S. (2002). Sociohistorical and demographic perspectives on US remarriage in 1910. *Social Science History, 26*(1), 199–241.

Fauve-Chamoux, A. (2002). Widows and their living arrangements in preindustrial France. *History of the Family, 7*(1), 101–116.

Fornasin, A. (1998). Emigrazioni e mestieri in Carnia: la cesura del XIX secolo. In *Alto*, CXVI, 19–40.

Fornasin, A. (2002). La proprietà della terra, i percettori dei prodotti e della rendita. In G. Pinto, C. Poni & U. Tucci (Eds.), *L'Italia agricola dalle origini ad oggi. Il medioevo e l'età moderna* (pp. 357–380). Firenze: Polistampa.

Galt, A. H. (1991). Marital property in an Apulian own during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. In D. I. Kertzer & R. P. Saller (Eds.), *The family in Italy from antiquity to the present* (pp. 304–320). New Haven and London: Yale University Press.

Henry, L., & Blum, A. (1988). *Techniques d'analyse en démographie historique*. Paris: INED.

Kertzer, D. I., & Hogan, D. (1989). *Family, political economy, and demographic change: The transformation of life in Casalecchio, Italy* (pp. 1861–1921). Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.

Kertzer, D. I., & Karweit, N. (1995). The impact of widowhood in nineteenth century Italy. In D. I. Kertzer & P. Laslett (Eds.), *Aging in the past: Demography, society, and old age* (pp. 229–248). Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press.

Keyssar, A. (1974). Widowhood in eighteenth century Massachusetts: A problem in the history of the family. *Perspectives in American History, 8*, 83–119.

Klapisch-Zuber, C. (1985a). The "Cruel Mother": Maternity, widowhood, and dowry in Florence in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. In C. Klapisch-Zuber (Ed.), *Women, family, and ritual in Renaissance Italy* (pp. 117–131). Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press.

Klapisch-Zuber, C. (1985b). The "Mattinata" in Medieval Italy. In C. Klapisch-Zuber (Ed.), *Women, family, and ritual in Renaissance Italy* (pp. 261–282). Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press.

Knodel, J. (1988). *Demographic behavior in the past. A study of fourteen German village populations in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Knodel, J., & Lynch, K. A. (1985). The decline of remarriage: Evidence from German village populations in the eighteenth century. *Journal of Family History, 10*, 34–59.

Le Goff, J., & Schmitt, J.-C. (Eds.). (1981). *Le charivari*. Paris: EHESS.

Livi Bacci, M. (1981). On the frequency of remarriage in nineteenth century Italy: Methods and results. In J. Dupaquier, E. Hélin, P. Laslett, M. Livi Bacci & E. Segner (Eds.), *Marriage and remarriage in populations of the past* (pp. 347–362). London: Academic Press.

Lundh, C. (2002). Remarriages in Sweden in the 18th and 19th centuries. *The History of the Family, 7*(3), 423–449.

Manfredini, M. (1996). L'utilizzo degli Status Animarum nelle ricostruzioni nominative: miglioramenti informativi qualitativi e quantitativi. Il caso di Madregolo (1629–1914). *Bollettino di Demografia Storica, 24*(25), 113–129.

Matthijs, K. (2003). Frequency, timing and intensity of remarriage in 19th century Flanders. *History of the Family, 8*(1), 135–162.

McQuillan, K. (2003). Family composition and remarriage in Alsace, 1750–1850. *Journal of Interdisciplinary History, 33*(4), 547–567.

Moring, B. (2002). Widowhood options and strategies in preindustrial northern Europe: socioeconomic differences in household position of the widowed in 18th and 19th century Finland. *History of the Family, 7*(1), 79–99.

Pincherli, E. (1901). *La vedova. Patria potestà, diritti patrimoniali, seconde nozze*. Turin: Bocca.

Rettaroli, R. (1993). "Maritu a chi troa, moglie a chi tocca". Nuzialità e famiglia nell'Italia mezzadrile del primo Ottocento. In *Società Italiana di Demografia Storica, La popolazione delle campagne italiane in età moderna* (pp. 505–525). Bologna: Clueb.

Scardozzi, M. (1998). Tra due codici: i contratti dotali nella Toscana preunitaria. In G. Calvi & I. Chabot (Eds.), *La ricchezza delle donne. Diritti patrimoniali e poteri familiari in Italia (XIII-XIX secc.)* (pp. 95–120). Turin: Rosenberg & Sellier.

Schiaffino, A. (1979). *Fecondità e vita coniugale a Bologna nell'ultimo secolo: analisi longitudinale delle discendenze del ciclo di vita coniugale*. Bologna: Università di Bologna, Istituto di Statistica.

Smith, K. R., Zick, C. D., & Duncan, G. J. (1991). Remarriage patterns among recent widows and widowers. *Demography, 28*(3), 361–374.

Sogner, S., & Dupaquier, J. (1981). Introduction. In J. Dupaquier, E. Hélin, P. Laslett, M. Livi Bacci & E. Segner (Eds.), *Marriage and remarriage in populations of the past*. London: Academic Press.

Spaggiari, P. L. (1966). *L'agricoltura negli stati parmensi dal 1750 al 1859*. Milan: Banca Commerciale Italiana.

Tittarelli, L. (1991). Choosing a spouse among nineteenth-century central Italian sharecroppers. In D. I. Kertzer & R. P. Saller (Eds.), *The family in Italy from antiquity to the present* (pp. 271–285). New Haven and London: Yale University Press.

Van Poppel, F. (1995). Widows, widowers and remarriage in nineteenth century Netherlands. *Population Studies, 49*, 421–441.

Wrigley, E. A., Davies, R. S., Oeppen, J. E., & Schofield, R. S. (1997). *English population history from family reconstitution* (pp. 1580–1837). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.